Original Article
ISSN (Online): 2582-7472

ShodhKosh: Journal of Visual and Performing Arts
Special Issue on Integrating Science, Arts, Commerce and Technology for Future Innovations 7(12s)

FRANTZ FANON: VIOLENCE AND COMPLEXITY FOR DECOLONIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Sujoy Barman [1], Dr. Unnatkumar Bhikhabhai Patel [2]

[1] Ph.D. Research Scholar, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities (English), Ganpat University, Gujarat, India
[2] Professor and Head, Department of Humanity and Basic Science, Faculty of Social Science and Humanities (English), Ganpat University, Gujarat, India

Received 20 March 2026
Accepted 19 April 2026
Published 31 May 2026

Corresponding Author
Sujoy Barman,
sujoybarman21@gmail.com

DOI
10.29121/shodhkosh.v7.i12s.2026.8454

Funding: This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

Copyright: © 2026 The Author(s). This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.

With the license CC-BY, authors retain the copyright, allowing anyone to download, reuse, re-print, modify, distribute, and/or copy their contribution. The work must be properly attributed to its author.

ABSTRACT

The concept "decolonial violence for the indigenous development" is the suplement to the colonial violence for the European capitalism. If colonial violence is an integral part to overcome complexities for Eurocentric development; likewise decolonial violence should be so for indigenous development. Frantz Fanon in The Wretched of the Earth identifies decolonized movement as a violent phenomenon, where natives struggle to survive under colonial extortion, and the colonial violence breeds anti- colonial- counter-violence. Decolonization sets fertility for political liberty, and socio- cultural and economic developments. Decolonization influences and modifies individual, brings political awareness, moulds nationalism, and lastly provides circumstances for reformation. But fertility comes with complexity, and development with struggle. This academic work interprets Fanon and his doctrine of decolonized movement as a movement of violence, and secondly postcolonial violence and complexity for development. According to Johan Galtung, in a constructive society, there are three types of violence: direct, structural, and cultural. Such types of violence are also noticed in colonies and newly liberated countries. In general sense, violence is considered as a destructive force rather than creative and developing one. Now, the question is: how can violence be identified as a creative and developing one?' If decolonization is required for the development, and it is a movement of violence according to Fanon, then the violence for decolonization is identified as a positive force for development. Besides this, development in postcolonial society is not smooth. The article is an attempt to give answers to probable doubts about the importance of violence for decolonization as well as complexity for socio-cultural, political, and economic developments with Fanon, and his theory.

Keywords: Violence, Decolonization, Development, Conflict, and Indigenous

1. INTRODUCTION

Decolonial violence is also known as the anti-colonial-counter-violence, and decolonization with violence seems to be awkaward for the nationalists like Mahatma Gandhi, who advocate for peace and non-violence for national liberation. In peace and developmental society, this article conversely contains two objects: violence for decolonization, and violence and complexity for development; but it is quite challenging to place arguments for the requirment of violence and complexity in postcolonial development; but from the postcolonial historical perspective, it is evident that the European capitalist development and subsequent under-developing situation in the twenty -first century in Africa, Antilles, and Asia, resulted from the European colonial violence. Frantz Fanon defines decolonization as a violent

phenomenon. He was a Martinique psychiatrist, French soldier, and Algerian activist. Throughout life, Fanon witnessed violence both in national and international politics, and noticed how it modified the global as well as regional phenomenon. When the subject matter is development in the social sciences, peace and non-violence are the most desirable energies, and violence is the most ignorable. But the history of social science shows that the greatest change or the social transformation is performed with violence. For instance, the French Revolution should be mentioned. Before the revolution, France was controlled by the clergy and nobility, and power was centered to the elite people. But the revolution introduced democratic zeal: Equality, Fraternity, and Liberty. French people tasted the spirit of democracy after bloodshed by the guillotine. From this perspective, what is the best policy for the French people, feudalism or democracy? If feudalism is the best policy then the violence in the French Revolution is unjustified, or if democracy is the best policy then violence is justified. When a country enters a new phase of its development, then either reformation or revolution is essential, and any revolution can't be performed silently or smoothly. The violence in the French Revolution pushed the country towards its golden future. Any society is divided into two classes, i.e., dominated and dominating. In most of the cases, it is noticed that for the minimum rights and sustainable development, the dominated class takes violent step to overcome complexities in favor of development. America is a developed country, and one of the leading superpowers in the geopolitics. The country has its own problems; it is developed but it is discriminatory development. Malcolm X in "The Ballot or the Bullet", highlights the political complexity and suppressive position of the Negro voters. He mentions the upcoming 1964's election, and in the political manifesto 'The Ballot or the Bullet' he points out political non-being of the Negro voters, who voted for the Democratic Party, but for its connection with Dixiecrats, the ruling party segregated Negroes from the main stream of the society. America is the country for the white; it is also the country for the black, and Black Nationalism should be included in the American nationalism, and it would not be happened until Negroes use their franchise properly, until they would select leaders who speak for them, and work for their rights. So Malcolm X suggests Negroes to use ballots like bullets, and if it would not work, then he recommends holding weapons because in America, it is easy to have a licensed weapon. The French Revolution and its bloodshed is important for the democracy in France, likewise Malcolm X and his philosophy of violence is also important for the development of Negroes in America. With these two examples, it is clarified that in both cases for national development and for the development of a particular section in a country, revolution and violence play significant role. Fanon through the definition of decolonisation argues for violence in favor of national development like the French Revolution, and in new born countries, he also argues violence for development for the suppressed and subaltern people like Malcolm X and his doctrine for the Negroes in white America. In general perception, it is noticed that Fanon is an apologist for violence and advocates for death and destruction, but in Frantz Fanon: A Portrait, Alice Cherki calls him secular, generous, and humanist. Regarding Fanon and his violence, Cherki has identified two questions: '... what are the necessary conditions for decolonisation to succeed? At what point are condition right for a national liberation movement to emerge, and who should constitute its vanguard.' (Cherki, 2006, p.172)

2. COLONIAL VIOLENCE AND COMPLEXITY IN THE EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT

Before interpreting violence for decolonization and complexity for indigenous development, it is necessary to elaborate colonial violence for the European development. Technically violence breeds violence, so understanding the anti-colonial-counter-violence, it is requirred to understand colonial violence, and how it is responsible for the European development. To understand colonial violence for development, one needs to read Adam Smith and his The Wealth of Nation, especially the Book IV. The European expedition to the new world, and the probability of development increased the interest of the European monarchy. Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama, the European expeditors in Americas and rest of the world discovered fertile land for cultivation and other natural resources. The Western capitalist mindset stood behind violence and complexity related to colonialism. Albert Memmi in The Colonizer and the Colonized, argues that 'Today, the economic motives of colonial undertakings are revealed by every historian of colonialism. The cultural and moral mission of a colonizer, even in the beginning is no longer tenable.' (Memmi, 1956, p. 47) In short, capitalist interest stood behind the colonial violence. It would be wrong if it is not mentioned that colonization has also modified colonies. Before the European expedition in Peru and Mexico, there were barter economic system, stone and wooden tools were major instruments, and they were unfamiliar with the plough system; but with the expedition, Spaniards introduced the coined money system and iron into Mexico and Peru. These are the instant modifications in colonies. Thus the colonialism is for the Western capitalist interest with minimum developments in colonies, and establishing colonies means conflict between two colonial powers for authorization, and between colonial power and local authorities. Smith

has pointed out the abounding natural resources in colonies is one of the major interests of conflict and violence in Europe. He cites St. Domingo and its abounding with gold increased the interest of the European crowns. Thus there was a race among the European countries, especially English, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and Spaniards for colonial authority. The economic interest in colonies increased the number of wars among the colonial powers. Smith points out how economic interest is responsible for the colonial violence between European countries. He is talking about the enumerated commodities and their subdivisions into peculiar and non-peculiar categories for the sustainable development in mother countries. Besides the enumerated commodities for European sustainable development, the exclusive trade is another reason for the colonial violence. The colonies which were known for the peculiar commodities, there had conflicts and wars between mother countries regarding the authority of exclusive trade. So according to Smith, enumerated commodities, exclusive trade, and monopoly are the succeeding phases of the European expedition, and for sustaining capitalist interest provokes colonial violence. If Smith in The Wealth of Nation is talking about the colonial violence for the community level development in Europe, it is Albert Memmi who is connecting colonial violence for individual development. In The Colonizer and the Colonized, Memmi shows the importance of colonies for white men. A colony is for European development; a colony is also required for white man's development. A colony is not only a place for adventure or expedition as mentioned by Edward Said in the definition of Orientalism, but it is also a place where a white man earns much and spends less. In colonies jobs are guaranteed, whereas in the mother country, a white man is facing the scarcity of job. He is offered high wages, career is more rapid,and business is more profitable because of lower taxes with affluent sources of raw materials and labors. Memmi considers a colony as the perfect place for white man's development.

"Spontaneously, better than language scholars, our travellers will come up with the best possible definition of a colony: a place where one earns more and spends less. You go to colony because jobs are guaranteed, wages high, careers more rapid and business more profitable. Young graduate is offered a position, the public servant of higher rank, the businessman substantially lower taxes, industrialist raw materials and labor at attractive price." (Memmi, 1956, p. 48)

In short, both collective and individual capitalist interests stand behind colonial violence. Further, Memmi has divided the colonizers into left and right wings. Leftist colonizer discovered economic, political, and moral scandal of colonization, and he openly protests and refuses colonialism. The right wing colonizer accepts colonialism, and he is a capitalist, and becomes violent for the capitalist development. It is noticed that development of a colonizer depends on the parameter of cruelty and brutality. Much cruelty means much development, less cruelty means less development. Left wing colonizers have sympathy for natives, and they are not capitalists like the right wing colonizers. For further understanding the colonial violence for the European development, it is necessary to take a short look at the Capitalism and Slavery written by Eric Williams. From the history of slavery, it is found that the slavery is an economic institution; the ancient Greek economy was based on the slavery, and the Roman Empire was also built on the slavery. It is the slave trade that provided the sugar for the tea in Europe, and cotton for the clothes. In short, Williams argues that European capitalism is based on the inhuman slave trade. Violating human rights is the development of the European capitalism. According to him, for limited population in Europe, traders turned to aborigines then Africans to overcome the requirement of labors for cultivating sugar, tobacco, and cotton in new world, especially in Americas and Antilles. From the explanation of Adam Smith, the peculiar enumerated commodities like sugar and tobacco, one can understand the exclusive trade; from the explanation of Eric Williams, and the production or cultivation of peculiar enumerated commodities, one can understand the scarcity of labor, and the requirement of labor established the slave trade. Thus the discoveries of the new world, fertile atmosphere for the enumerated commodities, scarcity of labors of the cultivation are the major reasons for colonial violence. Going further, Williams has categorized two types of colonial possessions: the first one is self- sufficient and diversified economy of small farmers, and the second is the mainland tobacco colonies and the sugar for Caribbean islands. The land and capital in the second type of colonial possession are useless until the labor is available, and this requirement paved the way of slave trade. It is Walter Rodney considers European development is the result of the under-development in Africa. In How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Rodney presents detailed glimpses of European role for the African wretchedness. He goes one step further that is the African glory and its destruction with the European expedition. Africa was rich in culture, but the European culture centered development destroyed the African heritage. He is talking about the cultural violence for the cultural development.

3. FRANTZ FANON AND DECOLONIZATION

Analysing decolonization with Fanon is an intersection between violence and anti-colonial movement for the birth of new nation from the womb of colonialism. Like Fanon, Mahatma Gandhi elaborated decolonization and its doctrine. In Hind Swaraj or Home Rule, Gandhi in Indian context envisions his dreamland of Hindustan rather than Englishtan. The country won't become Hindustan until uprooting the Britishers politically and psychologically. He argues for spiritual liberty from the clutches of colonialism, and suggests not to unholy the holy land with decolonial violence, and believes that the liberty through murder and assassination would certainly make the nation unhappy. So he advocates for peace and non-violence rather than violence for decolonization for the birth of Hindustan.

"That is to say, you want to make the holy land of India unholy. Do you not tremble to think of freeing India by assassination? What we need to do is to sacrifice ourselves. It is cowardly thought, that of killing others. Whom do you suppose to free by assassination? The Millions of Indians of India do not desire it. Those who will intoxicated by the wretched modern civilization think these things. Those who will rise to power by murder will certainly not make the nation happy." (Gandhi, p.116)

Contradictorily, Fanon focuses on violence for decolonization and liberty. According to him, non-violence is the non-regrettable act before the anti-colonial violence. Decolonization is known as the national liberation, national renaissance, and prophet for commonwealth. Liberty is not given, it is taken; national renaissance means to overcome hindrances in favor of development. Whenever a colonized country is asking for liberty, it is not given by its master, but it is taken from its master. Decolonization is always a violent phenomenon because it is a meeting of two binary forces for survival: suppressive and resistance forces. The colonial suppressive force wants to continue the colonialism, and the resistance force wants to demolish the colonialism: "The naked truth of decolonisation evokes for us the searing bullets and blood stained knives which emanate from it. For if the last shall be first, this will only come to pass after a murderous and decisive struggle between the two protagonists." (Fanon, 1957, p. 28) Further, decolonization is a veritable creation of new man and new nation. It influences both the nation and its people. Fanon identifies an anti-colonialist as a new man because he possesses zeal for better future, and he is thinking about the political rights, socio-cultural and economic developments. Decolonization provides national consciousness, and is the creation of new man, a man with political zeal, and consciousness of indigenousness, and its golden future. For decolonization, nationalist native imagines for new nation, where he is ruled by his own people, and can utilize sources for development in the new country. So Fanon's concepts of new man and new nation are the result of decolonization, where last becomes first, and first becomes last. When a native comes first after defeating colonizer, he becomes a new man. To become first from last is the result of violence. Fanon joined as the chefs de service at Blide-Joinville Hospital, Algeria, where he applied communal therapy as a psychiatrist over his patients. He learned the therapy at Hôpital de Saint-Alban under Professor François Tosquelles. In Algeria, it was Pierre Chaulet introduced Fanon with F.L.N. : "A couple of months later, Pierre Chaulet received an urgent plea from the guerrilla army asking him put them in contact with a 'safe' psychiatrist who could address the mental and emotional problems of its recruits. Chaulet immediately thought of Fanon; the two men met, Fanon agreed on the spot. At first, it was simply a matter of treating guerrilla fighters for whole gamut of illness." (Cherki, 2006, p.79) Fanon experienced Algerian anti-colonial movement very closely and most of his patients were suffered from the violence of the war. In the fifth chapter of his book The Wretched of the Earth, Fanon recorded some trauma case studies from the violence of war. Decolonization is a movement of violence; decolonization is the creation of new nation. It has already mentioned that Gandhi denies violence for new nation; but contradictorily Fanon defines violence for new nation. In this context what is essential for decolonization? It is true that Gandhi and his non-violent movement in the politics of Indian liberation played the most significant role, and for the Indian liberation his contribution can't be denied. But if the history of Indian decolonized movement is studied, it is found that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and Azad Hind Fauj were other reasons for the abolishment of the British colonialism in India. Bose and his company were the massive threat for the British colonial authority. He asked Indians for blood in exchange of liberty. Bose believed that liberty asks for blood because liberty is taken, it is not given. Like Fanon, Bose defines violence for decolonization, and he also imagined new India at the cost of blood. So practically it is violence rather than non-violence is the more effective for decolonization.

4. VIOLENCE, COMPLEXITY, AND DEVELOPMENT

With decolonization, new nation with new man has been established, but prosperity and progress are not easy for new man in new nation, or in new nation by new man. It is true that decolonization sets platform for political liberty, fertility for socio-cultural and economic developments. But there are complexity and non-probability for new men to push the country forward from under-developed to developing, and lastly to developed position. Colonizers departed, but they also left some unanswerable problems just like the partition between India and Pakistan with the conflict of Kashmir. Before going deeper and detailed analysis of violence for socio-cultural, political, and economic developments, it should be remembered that social issues are the political issues; social problems are the political problems. For example in contemporary Indian politics, religion, communal and caste are the major topics for political parties in their election campaigns. If there is social harmony, simultaneously there is political harmony. In this regard, social issues motivate the political interests or political interests are responsible for the social issues. Frantz Fanon in Black Skin, White Masks embarks the social issues like the problem of colour, and the importance of language in colonies, but with the liberty these social issues are presented in different ways. It is time to elaborate Fanon's ideas in the post-independent period in newly liberated countries. Both French and Creole are major issues in Martiniquean politics. People think about their origin, their African ancestors and heritage; regarding development, they believe that French from thousands miles away can't understand requirements for the Martiniqquan sustainable development.

4.1. COMPLEXITY IN SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

With liberty, a new born baby nation encounters a big question regarding the socio-cultural development, because there are binary doctrines for the upcoming developments. It is time to select the best for the society. For colonialism, cultural assimilation and white cultural domination are major issues in the socio-cultural structure. Cultural prejudice and discrimination between white and black are common factor. Fanon faced cultural discrimination while served in the French army. With Manville and Mosole, Fanon participated in the Free French Movement against Vichy regime, but in Toulon, they faced cynicism from white master. "It was Manville who recalled that in Toulon, during one of the larger liberation celebrations, the three of them watched French women dancing with Italian war prisoners- the same women who had turned down request to dance from black French service men." (Geismar, 1971, pp. 38-39) Native intellectuals consider that the post-independent national culture should be based on the pre-colonial indigenous culture, because it is free from the European cultural biases, and it was practiced by their ancestors. So after liberty, it is their rightful duty to revive their own culture. They should follow their own dress codes and foods; give priority to indigenous practices, and glorify them. Besides this doctrine, contradictorily natives also accept an assimilated cultural life. Thus the doctrine either to return past, or to live with assimilated culture, or to follow white culture makes a puzzling situation to decide the best and effective cultural setting in a newly liberated country. Colonial epistemic violence and European culture centered development are major issues for indigenous socio-cultural existential crisis. To escape from this crisis or to revive from the decayed situation, systematic method and planning should be executed.

But it is not easy return to past in reality because for the colonialism, people have adopted the colonial culture either to escape from humiliation or as a symbol for modernization. Frantz Fanon in the Black Skin, White Masks, examines the mind-set of the Martinique middle class society. For the color of skin, they are humiliated at the presence of white people. So in order to hide the color of skin, they need white masks. They adopt French language and French cultural practices as the white masks to cover their skin color. According to Fanon, adopting white masks, Martinique middle class escapes from colour humiliation, and enjoys equality with white men. This is one kind of development for the Martinique middle class society, and also for the new nations. The question is abandoning self identity for the identity of other can be considered as the symbol of development? Fanon for cultural valuation makes a comparison between Creole and French. He is talking about the epistemic violence. For the European culture centered development, at first the colonizer denies the identity of Creole. At lycée and in the family, Martinique children learnt the phrase "je suis francois" (I am a French). Martinique middle class people for the sake of white garments deny the importance of Creole and accept French. In the context of epistemic violence, both French colonizer and the middle class speed up French culture centered development in Martinique. With the liberty in a new country, resistance and imperialistic doctrines for culture centered development are struggling with each other. The resistance doctrine is followed by the ardent followers of the indigenous country like Gandhi. In Hind Swaraj, while Gandhi defines culture, he suggests that Indian revolution should be based on Indianness,

he dreams for Hindustan not for Englishtan; it is his belief that India will never escape from the slavery of colonialism until the country denies the spirit of English. This is one kind of socio-cultural development after liberty. The imperialistic doctrine is followed by the Martinique middle class society. Besides the imperialistic and resistance doctrines, assimilation is another method for development. It includes ingredients from imperialistic and resistance traditions. It is not easy either to return past for post-independent development or adopting other denying self identity for development. So the development with assimilation is the best option in a new country. The conflict is noticed in spiritual level to make rightful decision either to go with master's culture or with ancestor's culture or with assimilated culture for the post-independent development. In the chapter "On National Culture" of his book The Wretched of the Earth, Fanon is talking about the importance of native intellectuals for national culture development, and stresses on the national cultural history. He cites Arab doctors and poets, and their strives to create a new Arab culture and a new Arab civilization: "The great names of Arabic literature and the great past of Arab civilization have been brandished about with the same ardour as those of the African civilizations. The Arab leaders have tried to return to the famous Dar El Islam which shone so brightly from twelfth to fourteenth century." (Fanon, 1957, p. 172) So, history should be read before establishing national culture by the native intellectuals. To defend the colonial claim that Negro lacks of culture, Fanon cites the African Cultural Society and the American Cultural Society. The American negro cultural problem is different from African negro cultural problem. In Africa, cultural movement is centered on the Negro-African culture or the Arab Muslim culture, but in America at the presence of white culture, the development of black culture is quite challenging. It is true that Fanon cites Martinique middle class society and its infatuation with the colonial development, but it is also true that while Fanon is talking about the Algerian liberty against the French colonialism, he notices the Islamic cultural inclusion in the anti-colonial activities. In the essay "Algeria Unveiled" in A Dying Colonialism, Fanon shows the importance of women and veil for the liberty of Algeria. Algerian women involved anti-colonial- movement. They supported and smuggled weapons. The women became conscious for political and national rights. Veil hepls activitsts to escape from arest. It is an exaample of cultual inclussion in national politics. The violence for development in colonized and newly liberated countries has its own pattern. In the colonized period, the violence is noticed for the national development, for the national liberation, and for the national renaissance; but in the young country, violence erupts for the development when the common people have been dominated for long time. The violence for socio-cultural development after liberty depends on the relationship between the government and its people, between the ruling party and the rest of the country. For harmonious development needs harmonious relationship, and gap between authority and rest of the country, and between the government and its people push the country towards violent situation.

4.2. COMPLEXITY IN POLITICAL HARMONY

Natives are not only interested the master culture, but also for the Western political philosophy. Young natives, for the Western curriculum become familier with the Western rationality at colonial schools, and later move to Europe, read Western philosophers like Karl Marx and Lenin. Whatever they have learnt from the European education, they are going to apply for the benefit of the country. Frantz Fanon, at lycée in Martinique learned the Western philosophy, and after the Second World War, with a scholarship went to Lyon, France, for his medical education; he read voraciously European philosophers especially Nietzsche, Hegel, Sartre, and Karl Jaspers. According to his elder brother Joby Fanon, Frantz Fanon was strongly influenced by Nietzsche and his Thus Spoke Zarathustra. Nietzsche's superman may be aapplied in the personality development of Fanon from an ordinary black man to an eminet black thinker. Like a camel in earlier of his life, Fanon accepted colonial setting, participated in the Second World War as a French soldier; but in Algeria, like a child he identified as a prominent black thinker. Acknowledgment with the Western philosophy changed his life. Jean Paul Sartre was his close friend and intellectual mentor, and such kind of Western friendship simultaneously modified thinking quality of Fanon, who before the Second World War was an ardent follower of France, and considered adopting French means an authentic life, but after the war and his higher education in France, the political openness is noticed, and Fanon became an anti-colonialist in Algeria from a French soldier. During the Second World War, he joined French army for the Free French movement, and later while serving as a psychiatrist at Blida, Algeria he became a psychotherapist for the members of FLN, and a spokesperson of Algerian delegation at African Conferences. Fanon himself is a prime example to explain how colonialism brings political awareness among the natives. For further deep analysis of political consciousness, Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth and Black Skin, White Masks should be decoded. According to Fanon, the political awareness in a colony is noticed among town dwellers because they are very close to settlers, and then the awareness spreads to country sides and peasant society. Mills and factories are built near towns,

and the people from the towns are workers in these factories and mills. They are facing the harsh reality of capitalist colonialism that enforces them towards trade unions. Fanon in The Wretched of the Earth highlights the major role of trade unions for native worker's consciousness. He goes further to explain the systematic way of nationalism. At the very beginning natives involve some minor anti-colonial activities like equality of wages and limited hours of work. But when they noticed that it is the colonizer who is responsible for all minor and major problems, they decide to go completely against the colonial authority. When natives deny colonial authority during colonialism, it becomes decolonized movement, also known as a nationalist movement. It is noticed that decolonization entitles a movement as a national movement, a political party as a national party.

"For a very long time the native devotes his energy to ending certain definite abuses, forced labour, corporal punishment, inequality of salaries, limitation of political rights, etc. This fight for democracy against the oppression of mankind will slowly leave the confusion neo-liberal universalism to emerge, sometimes laboriously, as a claim to nationhood." (Fanon, 1957, p. 119)

Such political development can't be accepted by the colonizers, and criticize that natives are educated by them, and now they turn against them. Natives have been rescued from the barbarism, and now attack their well wishers. From colonialism to decolonization, Fanon explains the political awareness in colonies. He shows how a native becomes a politically conscious person with the conduct of colonizer and Western philosophy, later he is talking about the political rights for the native land, and lastly organizes nationalist movement against the colonial government. For colonialism, native becomes aware about political right, and attempts to execute means conflict with master, and the execution means overcoming the violence between native and his master. This is the positive side of political development according to Fanon, but at the same time he is warning against the political danger that is especially noticed in the newly liberated countries after decolonization. He warns new people about the political danger that can spoil the spirit of nationalism. He is talking about the chauvinism. When one particular doctrine rules in national politics, and suppresses other national interests, and is presented as the only interest for nation, then this nationalism is known as the chauvinism that is a complex situation for the country. Hitler and the Nazism are perfect examples of chauvinism because both deny the Jewish interest, and the world knows how dangerous is such kind of chauvinism in national politics. India is a liberal country and there are several social issues especially communalism, which motivates the Indian politics. If the present ruling party thinks about the post-independent nationalism in India with the doctrines of Hinduism, it directly or indirectly denies the national interests of other religions. Contradictorily if other political party thinks about the national interest with Islam, simultaneously it also denies the interest of the Hinduism, and others. Fanon identifies some hindrances for the political development, for example, the gap between country and town. Country people always doubt the intention of the town because the town dwellers are talking like the colonizer, wearing the master's clothes, and behaving like them. Secondly Fanon notices the ethical downfall of the political leaders. Before liberty, leaders are thinking about the national development, sacrifice for the nation, but with the liberty they become rulers of new nation, and hold administrative posts that were held by the colonisers. It means they have all opportunities to push the country towards development. But in reality they misuse power and position. In that concern, Fanon identifies a privilege class: "Immediately after independence, the nationals who live in the more prosperous regions realize their good luck, and show a primary and profound reaction in refusing to feed the other nationals." (Fanon, 1957, p. 128) For the privilege and holding the political power, political dictatorship outcomes to rule the new country. When a country is ruled by dictatorship, it means that privileged class controls everything, and it is the wretched condition for rest of the classes: "The single party is the modern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, unmasked, unpainted, unscrupulous and cynical." (Fanon, 1957, p. 132) For the post independent subaltern class and its development under the political dictatorship, another violent movement is required after decolonization, because decolonial violence brought the fertile atmosphere for specific privileged class, but not for all; so another step is required against the privileged class. There is not sufficient change in the destiny of general peoplee. Before decolonization, they were oppressed by the colonizers or outsiders, and with liberty they are oppressed by their own people. Decolonization has changed masters with some minimum modifications. But after the decolonization, and to prevent dictatorship, they need to organize movement. Fanon considers tribalism as the drawback for nationalism. He shows the local interests prevent the national interests. When national interest is given priority over the local interest, it is one kind of violence, likewise when local interest is given priority over the national interest is also violence. But at the same time, a newly liberated country for its developments faces conflicts in geo-politics because formerly master countries never want development in a new country. So with the liberty, a newly liberated country has to face complex situation both in national and international platforms for its developments. India is a developing country and the present government under the leadership of

Narendra Modi has started the campaign Viksit Bharat@47, and sets this goal to be achieved by 2047. The intention of this campaign is that after 2047, India will be a developed country like USA and China. India was colonized by British, and now is developing to complete the goal as the developed country by 2047, but is the mission very easy? It is not easy because formerly developed countries don't want more developed country in geopolitics. Thus it is natural for India to face violence both in national and international platforms. The conflicts with China regarding border issues, terror attacks in Indian territory, and some unwanted illogical conflicts of the central government with some proxy nationalist groups sponsored by foreign anti-Indian organizations are the major hindrances for India and its development. As India is developing, it is natural to face conflicts and violent situations both in national and international platforms, and it is the responsibility of India to handle tactically to complete its mission of Viksit Bharat (Developed India) in 2047. Britishers left India, also left a legacy of political complexity. Liberty has come with the partition between India and Pakistan with the conflict of Kashmir. India is liberated with an incomplete land. Did Gandhi advocate for the Hindustan with disputerd border? At present, is it possible in reality to have Hindustan with complete geographical land or to include POK to Indian territory with a white pigeon, with peace and non-violence? Besides this, the mission of Viksit Bharat@47, can be succeeded with non-violence when India is attacked by terrorists or enemy countries are planning to attack the sovereignty of the country? There are several enemies of India in national and international platforms to attack the sovereignty. Through the terror attacks in the Indian Territory, they want to unrest the country, and such incidents are the hindrances to the campaign of Viksit Bharat@47. Decolonization brings liberty, but it also brings political complexity.

4.3. COMPLEXITY IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

It is very complex to explain a required environment for economic development. Yet the question is in mind regarding the appropriate doctrine for development and its practicality. The new economy should be either capitalist, or communist, or socialist. It should be either bourgeoisie centric, or political party centric (communist party), or public centric. Fanon is advocating socialism rather than capitalism and Marxism for newly liberated countries. He considers that a socialist country can maintain equality for all classes. As it is mentioned earlier that with liberty, the ethical downfall is noticed in political party and its leaders, and after liberty a privileged class has been originated, so the leaders and members of the privilege class use the national economy for personal development rather than national development. Fanon's privilege class includes nationalist leaders who are bourgeois. They are businessmen, not well wishers of the country. The capitalist interest of common people is violated by this privilege class, or the capitalist development of privilege class depends on the violence of general public interest. So socialism is the required doctrine for development.

"The national bourgeoisie of the under-developed countries is not engaged in production, nor in invention, nor building, nor labour; it is completely canalized into activities of the intermediary type. Its innermost vocation seems to be kept in the running and to be part of the racket. The psychology of the national bourgeoisie is that of the businessman, not that of the captain of industry: and it is only too true that the greed of the settlers and the system of embargoes set up by colonialism has hardly left them any other choice." (Fanon, 1957, p.120)

Generally with liberty, some hindrances like lack of capital and technology, and non-cooperation from the mother countries for economic development are inherited; and corrupted leader and privileged class are the second blow to push back the economy to stone age. It is noticed in the world history that most of the countries after decolonization enter the most wretched condition either for the political dictatorship, or military dictatorship, or bourgeoisie dictatorship. Fanon has mentioned two types of bourgeoisie societies: colonialist and native. In the colonial period, the colonialist bourgeoisie society is the oppressor for the natives, after decolonization native bourgeoisie society is the oppressor of the country. European capitalist interest is the force behind the European colonialism, and likewise it is the capitalist interest of the native bourgeoisie makes the situation complex for common public in newly liberated countries. If colonialist bourgeoisie society is uprooted by the decolonized movement, likewise the native bourgeoisie society should be modified either with reformative activities or a revolutionary movement. It completely depends on the situation, which would be required either reformation or revolution. If party and bourgeoisie societies become dictators, then the only remaining option is revolution. Regarding the lumpen proletariat Fanon identifies it as the hindrance of national development. He suggests tackling this class of people very strictly. Fanon is talking about the capitalist and political dictatorships, and for the development, socialism is profitable rather than capitalism and Marxism.

In short, the birth of a new man in a new nation from the womb of colonialism is delivered with complexity through decolonial violence according to Fanon. After the birth, new born nation celebrates its victory over colonialism, but the harsh reality is approaching regarding its existence and survival from the internal and external complexities. At the time of decolonisation, there is one interest i.e., the liberation of the country; but with the liberty the interest is diverted to local and national interests, and splitting in nationalism means the under-development. While the country is struggling with its internal issues, the formerly colonial countries and super-powers are trying to control the politics of the new country. It is the ordeal situation for the post independent nationalist party and leader to defend the internal and external enemies, and sometimes the situation becomes out of control, and it requires complex steps to maintain the harmony and stability. For the speedy development, peace, non-violence, and harmony are required, but whenever anti-harmonious activities like communalism and terrorism are on the peak level, prohibit the national interest, and become threat to the sovereignty, then violence is required. In short, the requirement of violence for indigenous development and to overcome complexities depends on the situation, when and how the violence is applied.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

None.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

None.

REFERENCES

---. (1967). The Wretched of the Earth. Translated by Constance Farrington, Penguin.
---. (1967). Towards the African Revolution. Translated by HaakonChevalier, Grove Press, New York.
---.(1965). .A Dying Colonialism. Translated by Haakon Chevalier, Grove Press, New York.
Ashcroft, Bill, et al.(1989) The Empire Writes Back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literatures. Routledge, London and New York.
Bakshi SM, Maj Gen (Dr), VSM (Retd).(2024). Bose or Gandhi Who Got India Her Freedom? K W Publisher.
Bulhan, Hussain Abdilahi. (1985). Frantz Fanon and Psychology of Operation. Plenum Press, London.
Chachane, H.,2025,Sustainable Development and Political Will: Policy Lessons from the Global South,ShodhPrabandhan: Journal of Management Studies,2(1),93–97, https://doi.org/10.29121/ShodhPrabandhan.v2.i1.2025
Cherki, Alice. (2006) Frantz Fanon: A Portrait. Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London.
Fanon, Frantz. (1967). Black Skin, White Masks. Translated by Charles Lam Markmann, Grove.
Galtung, Johan. Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization. SAGE Publication, London.
Gandhi, M.K. Hind Swaraj. Delhi Open Books.
Geismar, Peter. (1971). Fanon. The Dial Press, New York.
Gendizier, Irene L. (1973). Frantz Fanon: A Critical Study. Pantheon Book, New York.
https://viksitindia.com/
Macy, David. Frantz Fanon: A Biography. Verso, London.
Mahoney, James. Colonialism and Postcolonial Development. Cambridge University Press.
Mannoni, D.O. (1956). Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonialism. Translated by Pamela Powesland, Methuen & Co. Ltd, London.
Memmi, Albert. (2021). The Colonizer and the Colonized. Translated by Howard Greenfeld, Profile Books, London.
Rabaka, Reiland. (2011). Forms of Fanonism: Frantz Fanon's Critical Theory and the Dialectics of Decolonization. Lexington Books, UK.
Rodney, Walter. (1972). How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. Verso, London, New York.
Said, Edward.(2001). Orientalism. Penguin Random House, India.
Smith, Adam. (2023). The Wealth of Nations. Fingerprint Classics.
Williams, Eric. (2022). Capitalism and Slavery. Penguin Modern Classics.
X, Malcolm. (2007). "The Ballot or the Bullet." On Violence: A Reader. Edited by Bruce B. Laurence and Aisha Karim. Duke University Press, Durban and London.

Zahar, Renate. (1974). Frantz Fanon: Colonialism and Alienation; Concerning Frantz Fanon's Political Theory. Monthly Review Press.
Zeiling, Leo. (2014).Frantz Fanon: Voices of Liberation. Haymarket Books Chicago, Illinois.